

Willsborough Recorder.

UNION, THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS—THE GUARDIANS OF OUR LIBERTY.

Vol. XX.

THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1841.

No. 1001.

Complete list of Laws.

Passed by Congress at the 24 Session of the 26th Congress, which terminated March 3d, 1841.

Bills which originated in the House of Representatives.

An act making appropriations, in part, for the support of Government for the year 1841.

An act making appropriations for the payment of Revolutionary pensioners for the year 1841.

An act making temporary provision for lunatics in the District of Columbia.

An act to authorize the issuing of Treasury notes.

An act to amend the act to authorize the State of Tennessee to issue grants and perfect titles to certain lands therein described; and to settle the claims to the vacant and unappropriated lands therein described, passed April 18, 1836.

An act making further provision for the expenses of an exploration and survey of that part of the Northeastern boundary line of the United States which separates the states of Maine and New Hampshire from the British Provinces.

An act further to continue in force the act for the payment of horses and other property lost in the military service of the United States.

An act making appropriations for the civil and diplomatic expenses of Government for the year 1841; (of which there was for the Post Office \$4,812,620.)

An act making appropriations for the Navy for the year 1841.

An act making appropriations for the Army for the year 1841.

An act making appropriations for the Indian Department and treaty stipulations with the Indians for 1841.

An act making appropriations for the expense of a delegation of Western Seminoles Indians.

An act making appropriation for destitute Kickapoo Indians, and removing and subsisting the Swan Creek and Black River Indians of Michigan.

An act for the relief of Mary Tucker.

An act making appropriations for the support of the military Academy for 1841.

An act to authorize a register to be granted to the schooner Amistad.

An act to incorporate the Washington Benevolent Society, in the District of Columbia.

An act to confirm land patents.

An act making appropriations for certain fortifications of the United States for the year 1841.

Bills which originated in the Senate.

An act supplementary to an act to abolish imprisonment for debt in certain cases.

An act further to amend the act entitled an act to provide for taking the sixth census of the inhabitants of the United States.

An act for the relief of Gordon S. Hubbard, Robert A. Kuzie, and others.

An act supplementary to an act entitled an act to encourage the introduction and promote the cultivation of tropical plants. [For the benefit of the widow and children of Dr. Henry Perrine, killed by the Indians in Florida.]

An act to confirm to the State of Indiana the land selected by her for that portion of the Wabash and Erie Canal which lies between the mouth of the Tippecanoe river and Terre Haute, and for other purposes.

An act granting a pension to Lemuel White.

An act for the relief of Wm. P. Rathbone.

An act granting a pension to Hannah Leighton.

An act for the relief of Jacob Seeley.

An act for the relief of Wm. Jones.

An act for the relief of Charles M. Keller and Henry Stone.

An act for the relief of Lieut. John E. Bispham.

An act for the relief of John Carter.

An act for the relief of Joseph Boger.

An act for the relief of Jean Baptiste Comeau.

An act for the relief of Agnes Dundas.

An act for the relief of the heirs of Miguel Eslaya.

An act to refund the duties on the French ship Alexandre.

An act to amend the act approved May 13, 1830, entitled "An act to amend an act entitled an act to establish the judicial courts of the United States."

An act for the relief of Avery, Baltimore & Co.

Joint resolution to present incorporated universities, colleges, &c. with copies of the catalogue of the Library of Congress.

The bill for the settlement of the claims of the states of Maine and Georgia for the services of their militia, amounting together to about the sum of \$458,000, passed both Houses of Congress; and was enrolled and brought into the House for the signature of the Speaker just as the motion was made to close the session; which motion prevailing, it was not signed, and therefore did not become a law, although passed by both Houses of Congress.

AMOUNT OF APPROPRIATIONS Made at the 24 Session of the Twenty-sixth Congress.

Partial support of Government. (Congress)	\$412,000
For civil and diplomatic expenses.	8,030,005
For the Navy.	5,926,338
For the Army.	5,441,919
For Fortifications.	485,500
For the Military Academy.	160,522
For Pensions.	1,144,155
For the Indian Department.	875,280
For destitute Kickapoo, removal of Swan Creek and Black River Indians.	15,000
For survey of North-eastern Boundary.	22,000
For Lunatics in District of Columbia.	75,000
For refunding duties on French ship Alexandre.	3,000
For Avery, Salmarsch & Co.	1,050
For private claims (not pensions) amounts specified.	9,770
Amount of definite and specified appropriations.	4,645

In addition to the above, claims are to be examined, and the amount found due to be paid, viz:

Claim of the corporation of the city of Mobile.

Claim of Clements, Bryan, & Co.

Clerks on Chick-saw treaty business.

Officers of the customs, arrears of compensation for 1839.

Arrears due to clerks of Boston custom-house from 1832 to 1837.

Same to clerks of Philadelphia custom-house from 1832 to 1837.

These may take, in the aggregate, about

150,000

From which deduct the sum appropriated for the Post Office department, which is to be paid from the revenue of the department exclusively.

4,812,620

Leaving to be provided from the common treasury, exclusive of the redemption of treasury notes and sundry standing appropriations, such as 200,000 annually for arming the militia, and other annual charges,

17,943,573

Speech of Mr. Rayner,

ON THE TREASURY NOTE BILL.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, February 5, 1841.

The bill authorizing the issue of treasury notes to the amount of five millions of dollars being under consideration, and Mr. Barnard, of New York, having moved to strike out the enacting clause of the bill—giving notice, that if the motion prevailed, and a report to that effect should be made to the house, he would then offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the subject of making provision for the wants of the treasury be referred back to the committee of ways and means, with instructions—

First, To bring in a bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow ten millions of dollars on the credit of the Government, and to issue bonds or scrip therefor.

Second, To bring in a bill imposing duties for additional revenue, on wines, silks, linens, spices, and other articles, being luxuries, imported into the United States; but in such manner, as not to conflict with the principles of policy, and spirit of the act of March, 1833, commonly called the Compromise Act.

Mr. RAYNER, of North Carolina, spoke as follows: He said he should vote against the issue of Treasury notes now, as he did at the last session; but that he was willing to vote for a loan, and for additional duties on articles of luxury, as contemplated by the resolution of the gentleman from New York. Setting aside the disputed question, as to the constitutional power of Congress to issue Treasury notes, about which (said Mr. R.) I shall venture no opinion now, yet I oppose the measure on grounds of expediency. I believe that a crisis has arrived in our financial affairs, which requires a remodelling of the system, which must soon be met; and that this issue of Treasury notes is calculated to put off to a future day, that which requires immediate attention. I look upon it as deceptive in its character, and calculated to conceal from the knowledge of the country, the embarrassed and ruinous condition of the national Treasury. It is also calculated to screen from a just responsibility, the condemned authors of that system of misrule which has bankrupted the Treasury, and well nigh dishonored the nation. For whilst it, in fact, entails upon the Government a debt—a national debt, in every sense of the word—yet, so much magic is there in a name, that those who have for years been resorting to this system, have as uniformly denied that they have imposed upon the country a national debt; but insisted, that they were only using temporarily the credit of the Government.

Now, sir, it is right that there should no longer be practised any deception on this subject. It is right that the true situation of the Treasury should be made known to the country. It is right that the authors of the financial embarrassments under which we are now suffering should be held to a strict accountability. Let them, in the few days of power which they have left, confess that the Treasury is empty, that the country is in debt, that funds are necessary to save the honor and credit of the nation, and bring in a bill authorizing a loan: I will vote for it, although it shall be with a protest against the wasteful extravagance which has rendered it necessary. Sir, if the government is in debt, without the means of paying, the people should know it; they should also know the amount of that debt, under whose management it has been incurred, and the manner and terms on which it is to be paid.

The issue of Treasury notes, as I have before said, is only putting off the day of settlement, and throwing it on those who, while they have foretold and protested against the present evils, will yet be charged, when the day of reckoning comes, with having incurred the debt, for the payment of which they are now making provision.

If Treasury notes be constitutional—about which, as I said before, I deem it unnecessary to express an opinion—yet I do not consider this to be an occasion when it is proper to resort to them. It may be that in cases of emergency which cannot be foreseen or provided for—as war, or a sudden revolution in the trade and revenue of the country—the issue of Treasury notes might not only be expedient, but absolutely necessary; when the interest, the honor, and the plighted faith of the country, were in danger of being compromised. Sudden and unexpected difficulties not only require, but justify, extreme and unusual remedies. But such is not the case at the present time. The horrors of war have not suddenly burst upon us, & the difficulties which beset the trade and commerce of the country, so far from being sudden and unexpected, have been gradual in their approach, long seen, and long felt. Then, not being suddenly called upon to provide against some unforeseen disaster, I insist upon it that we should take time to view the whole field of difficulty, throw the responsibility where it properly belongs, and resort to such means as shall be consistent with the obligations we owe to ourselves.

I speak as a member of the Whig party; as a member of that party which long foresaw and long forewarned the country, against the measures which have reduced us to this ruinous and almost degraded condition. Sir, I do not choose to be driven by this cry of the "immediate wants" of the Government, about which we have heard so much, to the commission of an act, which I not only believe to be inexpedient and unwise at the present time, while it is calculated to relieve the guilty from responsibility, will throw the odium of their misdeeds upon those who are to succeed them.

As to the indebtedness of the Government, without the means of making payment, there is no difference of opinion here. That more money will be required, than can be supplied by the accruing revenue for the present year must be admitted on all hands. As to the deficit which exists, and the amount which will be required for present wants and future demands during the year, it is a point of controversy. I shall attempt to show, before I conclude, that it is much larger than can be gathered from the obscure and cunningly devised report of the Secretary of the Treasury. The question is, how is the requisite sum to be raised? After a great and unexampled victory, the Whig party is about to come into power, and they find the Government crippled in its resources, and bent down by years of pressure. We now have to apply the remedy. We now have to raise the means of enabling the country to comply with its obligations, to repair its shattered defenses, and to save the national honor. I am willing to do this, but I cannot consent that a discomfited enemy shall dictate the way in which it is to be done. Still less am I willing to aid in screening that enemy from public indignation, by assuming the responsibility which should rest on him. And if we have nothing to hope from an obstinate and perverse majority here—if this measure is presented to us as the ultimate, as the only relief which they will

consent to give, I, for one, am for "bidding my time," and am willing to wait till those who truly represent the interests and wishes of the people, shall have assembled here.

I have stated that I am willing to vote for a loan, and feeling assured, as I do, that five millions will not be more than half sufficient to meet the deficit for the present year, I am willing to vote for the ten millions contemplated by the resolution of the gentleman from New York. I prefer a loan, because it will reveal to the country the actual condition of the Treasury, and I prefer that it should be authorized by the same men whose measures have forced us to this alternative. Those who have contracted the debt, and squandered the means of carrying on the Government, should take the responsibility of making provision for both. Paying a debt is not incurring a debt. It may be, and it will be, that the administration to succeed the one now in power, will be compelled to provide the means of paying the debt already incurred, and of meeting the deficit growing out of the shock given to trade and commerce, by the destructive policy of the present party in power. And I wish now, in advance, to call the attention of this House, and of the country, to the fact, that any measure of relief hereafter to be resorted to by the coming administration, will be the inevitable result of the policy of the present administration. If the country is in debt, that debt must be paid; if there is a deficiency in the revenue for the present year, that deficiency must be provided for; and if, in applying the means for either, the country is pressed, let not those be blamed who make the provision, but those who forced it upon them. Sir, I make these remarks, because it is very apparent, from the tone of the debate on the other side, as well as of the press in their support, that this is to be the basis of an organized opposition against General Harrison's administration. And now I charge in anticipation—and I call upon gentlemen on the other side to note what I say—you have squandered the public treasure; you have crippled the resources of the country, by your war upon commerce and credit; you are about to go out of power, after having plunged the country in debt, and deprived it of the means of meeting its necessary expenditures; and upon your heads, and yours alone, let the responsibility rest. And in providing the means, as we shall hereafter be compelled to do, to pay for your extravagance, and to supply the deficiency caused by your warfare upon commerce, let it not be said, for in truth it cannot, that we have imposed upon the country a national debt.

If the interest of the country, in a pecuniary point of view, is to be consulted, a loan must be preferable to Treasury notes. Treasury notes, with four and a half millions now outstanding, and bearing an interest of six per cent, are now, I learn, from one-half to three-fourths per cent, below specie par. These Treasury notes are re-issuable, let it be recollected, until the 31st March, of the present year. Authorize the issue of five millions more, or ten millions, as contemplated by the amendment of the gentleman from Virginia. (Mr. Wise,) and as you thus increase their amount, you lessen their value. It may be said, these Treasury notes are paid out to the public creditor at par, and received from the public debtor at par. But, sir, it is right, with all your professions about a specie currency, and all your denunciations of paper, to receive the public dues in a medium less valuable than specie, whilst, according to the provisions of the sub Treasury law, you are compelled to collect one-half of the revenue in gold and silver after the 4th July next? And is it right to compel the public creditor—or leave him no other alternative, which is the same thing—to receive the amount due him in a medium less valuable than specie, after all the clamor we have heard about the impositions of banks, and the worthlessness of paper money? Treasury notes, like all other bills of credit, cannot long maintain their nominal value, as has been proven by the history of all Governments that have ever resorted to them. In fact, they are a sort of revolutionary currency at best, never resorted to by Governments except when in extremis; and when they have no other mode of supplying their coffers, and of sustaining their credit. They remind me too strongly of Continental paper money, and the assignate of revolutionary France, to receive my sanction. Owing to their uncertain and fluctuating character, as to the time and amount of their issues, capitalists are afraid to invest in them; and, as a currency, they are entirely unsuited to the public convenience. And all the patchwork of legislation to which you may resort, cannot acquire for them the confidence and countenance of the commercial community. But resort to a loan, issue your scrip, redeemable on time, with a fixed rate of interest, and you create a stock in which capitalists will seek to invest their money; and this stock, so far from selling at a discount, will command a premium. I understand that the stock issued by the Government in 1832, '23, and '24, although redeemable at plea-

sure, sold at a premium of two per cent. If issued on time it would be worth more; but at two per cent, the Government would save \$200,000 in a loan of ten millions. If you issue Treasury notes made returnable in one year, you are only postponing the evil, which will be aggravated when the time of presentation arrives. For, as I shall attempt to show, the deficit in the Treasury is not a temporary one, but a permanent one which cannot be supplied, unless the imports should be increased beyond any reasonable calculation, or the duties on those imports, or a portion of them, should be raised. So that, at the time these Treasury notes shall return, the Treasury will need all its available means in order to meet the necessary and current demands of the Government.

That there is a deficit all agree. The question is, how large is it likely to be during the present year? I have no doubt that it will be more than ten millions; it certainly will, if Congress passes the appropriations that are absolutely necessary for the country. It is true, we can make these expenditures any amount we please, no matter how small, if we are disposed to disband the army, to lay up the navy, to desert our fortifications, to suspend our foreign intercourse, &c. In reading the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, I was struck with the time serving and disgraceful proposition he has made, for the purpose of preserving a balance in the Treasury at the end of the year. He says:

"But the preservation of a suitable balance in the Treasury may require more than what will probably be left after satisfying other purposes. The raising of any sum for that object in 1841 could, however, be obviated by authorizing a contract to be made, under proper restrictions, extending the period of payment for a portion of the temporary liabilities falling due in that year. Yet, in the opinion of the undersigned, the best mode of providing for this case would be, without either an extension of the kind, or a loan, or a further issue of treasury notes, or a change in the tariff, but merely by extending the appropriations for the service of 1841 for the estimates, or by passing such declaratory clauses as to the present tariff, and such acts as to the public lands, as have heretofore been urged on the consideration of Congress."

Now, here is the Secretary of the Treasury, an officer whose special duty it is to submit an estimate of all the expenditures necessary for the Government, proposing in one sweeping clause to lessen the appropriations below the estimates, without specifying any items of expenditures which he would cut down, without considering the absolute wants and sufferings of the country—merely for the purpose of making a show of economy, now upon his retirement from office, and of withdrawing attention from that prodigal and extravagance that have bankrupted the Government. And this is the same Levi Woodbury, under whose administration of the finances \$39,000,000 per annum have been expended, without a murmur against extravagance escaping him. No, sir, I hope no such illiberal narrow-minded policy is to be pursued here. As statesmen entrusted with the interests of the country, it is our bounden duty to see that its honor and character shall be preserved, and all its main branches of defence shall be sustained; and if there is a deficiency in the revenue, growing out of a long period of misrule, we must resort to other means—to the credit of the Government; relying upon the future, for the return of prosperity, and a replenished Treasury.

The Secretary of the Treasury estimates the expenditures for the year 1841 as follows, viz:

Civil, diplomatic, and miscellaneous.	\$3,450,740 13
Military.	7,725,440 94
Naval.	5,445,339 21

Besides these, certain permanent appropriations under existing laws will become chargeable on the treasury during the next year, in sums as follows:

For ordinary purposes.

Military.

For other purposes.

Public debt, including interest and first installment for the district of Columbia.

Redeeming treasury notes.

Amounting in all to

The receipts for the same year, he estimates as follows.

From customs.

From lands.

From miscellaneous.

Expected balance in the treasury available on 1st Jan. 1841.

Available from banks.

Treasury notes yet issuable under the act of 31st March 1840.

Amounting in all to

Thus leaving a balance on 1st January, 1842, of

These estimates of the secretary have been proven to be entirely illusory and deceptive. The tables in his report have all been got up, worked out, and arranged, to meet a conclusion to which he had resolved to arrive—that the expenditures for the present year should fall within the receipts. Heads of bureaus have declared to gentlemen on this floor, that, in making their reports, they were required to cut down their estimates of the appropriations for the public service, so as to make them square with the predetermined estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury.

any. It is enough to make one blush for the degradation of his country, when he sees the Minister of Finance so far forgetful of the duties of his station, and the great interests of the nation, as to frame his report, not to suit the wants and exigencies of the country, but to save his party from the charge of extravagance, and himself from that of mismanagement.

I shall not attempt a detailed examination of the various items of income and expenditure for the present year, unpublished in the Secretary's report; for their fallacy and duplicity have been fully and ably exposed. The gentlemen from New York, Maine, and Tennessee, (Messrs. Barnard, Evans, and Bell,) have placed this matter in as clear a point of view, that no one can misunderstand it who is not wilfully ignorant. And the feeble attempts that have been made to refute their calculations, have tended to make the conviction still stronger, that they are founded on data which cannot be controverted.

As before stated, the Secretary estimates the receipts for the present year at \$24,380,855, including the treasury notes issuable under the act of March 31, 1840. Of this he estimates \$10,000,000 from customs. Now, sir, it is reasonable to suppose that this amount will be received from customs during the present year! As to the Secretary's opinion, what is that worth? In his annual report of December, 1839, he estimated the receipts from customs for 1840 at \$15,000,000, and they fell short \$2,000,000; and I learn that is nearer than he ever arrived at the truth in any financial calculation. Is it reasonable to suppose, that the income from customs for 1841 will be six millions more than in 1840? Why should it be? Gentlemen say last year was one of great pressure, but that trade is now reviving, and that the importations during the present year are likely to be heavy. It is true that, since the election of General Harrison, confidence has revived and business begun to prosper; but yet, in the efforts of the banks to resume specie payments, which is one of the fruits of a restoration of confidence, the pressure in the money market must for a time continue. It is only gradually, that business, when once depressed, can regain its former prosperous condition. And if the sub-treasury is executed according to the express provisions of the law, as General Harrison is bound to see that it shall be, and one-half of the public dues after July are collected in actual specie, it will create an additional demand for specie, at the very time when the banks will be endeavoring to strengthen their resources, and when they will be least able to spare it. And my word for it, if the sub-treasury is executed according to the letter of the law, you will have another revolution, the banks will again be destroyed, and the scenes of '37 be enacted over again. The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Thompson) spoke of the large importations now on their way here across the Atlantic, the duties on which were to fill the treasury. Why, I suppose, that is always the case about this season of the year. The importing merchants have ordered their spring supplies, and although your ports may be crowded for a short time, about the latter part of the winter or beginning of spring, yet, during the summer months, you may scarcely hear of an importation. But I think it may be safely set down, that the importations next fall will be very thin; for it must be recollected that, according to the terms of the compromise act, the duties on all articles are to come down on the 1st January next, in the proportion of one-half of their excess over twenty per cent. Then, is it not reasonable to suppose, that the merchants will withhold their importations till after the 1st January, except in such small quantities as they will really sell? Most assuredly they will. Otherwise, their stock remaining on hand, could be undersold by those importing after the first of the year. Owing to these circumstances, I do not believe that the income from customs for 1841 is likely to exceed that of 1840. But putting it at a medium between \$10,000,000, as estimated by the Secretary, and \$13,000,000, the amount received in 1840, and we have \$16,000,000, which is a liberal, and, as I believe, an over estimate.

Next is the estimate of receipts from public lands, which the Secretary puts down at \$3,500,000. This I am willing to allow, although I understand the Commissioner of the General Land Office has given it as his opinion that it will not exceed \$2,500,000. Add to this "miscellaneous," "expected balance available on the 1st January next," the sum "due from banks which is likely to be made available," and "additional means arising from treasury notes authorized to be issued under the act of March 31, 1840," and you have the whole means for the support of government for the year 1841, amounting to \$21,723,473.

Let us now look at the probable expenditures, with reference to the very smallest amount with which the government can possibly get on, but with reference to the actual wants and necessities, the honor and character, of the

country. I see from House document No. 255 of the last session, the appropriations for the civil, miscellaneous, and foreign in course for the year 1840, amounted to \$4,512,545 05; whereas, in the estimates for the year 1841, it is put down at \$3,450,740 12. Why is this? The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Rhett) insisted that \$300,000 would be saved in consequence of the shortness of this session compared with the last. But then, gentlemen on the other side insist, that we intend to have an extra session. The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Thompson) said he could see we were determined on this. If we do have an extra session, it will be a charge on the government. And if gentlemen know this, why not provide the means of meeting it? I certainly know nothing of the purposes of General Harrison, or of those whom counsel he will seek; I have, however, but little doubt an extra session will be inevitable. General Harrison will find the treasury empty, with pressing demands against it daily, and nothing to discharge them with. In that case, he will be compelled to convene Congress, in order to obtain the means of carrying on the government. In addition to this, the country requires reform at our hands—millions of freemen are calling for the repeal of the odious sub-treasury. A prostrate commerce and ruined currency require the remedial hand of the government. I speak only my own opinion. I believe an extra session indispensable. And if it takes place, the expense attending it will be more than the difference between that of the present session and the last. I discover the Secretary has sent in no estimates for the outfit of ministers abroad, and the infants of those who are already there. Does he suppose General Harrison will not change the diplomatic corps? Does he suppose the honor and interests of the country will any longer be entrusted to those, who now represent the nation at foreign courts? Or is this a part of his system of retrenchment, that it will be better not to recall ministers, because the appointment of new ones will be attended with expense? These extra charges falling upon the civil list of the present year, will be fully equal to any of the last year, not incident to this. I have therefore sufficient data for assuming that the "civil, miscellaneous, and foreign intercourse," for the present year, will amount to at least \$4,500,000.

Next come the estimates for the military service. And these the Secretary puts down at \$7,725,440 94. Now, the gentleman from Maine (Mr. Evans) has so effectively exposed the imposition attempted in this estimate, that I am sure there is not one who heard him that is not fully satisfied on the subject. I saw, from the same document to which I have before referred, No. 255, that the appropriations for this branch of the service, at the last session, amounted to \$8,343,930 83. And so far from the expenses necessary for the same being less this year than they were the last, they must necessarily be more. Not one word is said about the Florida war. House document No. 70, of the present session, is a letter from the Secretary of War containing an estimate of the appropriations necessary for the Florida war during the year 1841, which, it seems, \$250,690 01 is due for service already performed, as follows:

For arrears to militia called into service by the Governor of Florida. \$221,344 02
For pay to a battalion of Georgia volunteers for three months' service in 1841. 29,446 03

It seems that there are already, in addition to the regular army in Florida, two thousand militia. 1,200 of them mounted men, and proposed to be increased to 1,500; and, as stated by the Paymaster General, "the President, having subsequently sanctioned this service, places their claims on a footing with those of the militia regularly called into the service of the United States." According to the estimates submitted in the same document, by the Paymaster General, the Surgeon General, and the Ordnance Department, the expenses of paying and subsisting this force for the year 1841, in addition to the arrears already due, will amount to \$3,385,329 75. The whole of which will fall on the year 1841. And, what is remarkable, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means had this letter in his possession since the 17th December, without suffering it to be brought to public view here.

Mr. Jones. I beg leave to correct the gentleman from North Carolina. The letter was in the possession of the committee, subject to the inspection of all its members. There was no attempt on my part to conceal it.

Mr. RAYNER. But, sir, I insist it was your duty to have brought it before the notice of the House. In the speech which you made at the commencement of this debate, in which you attempted to sustain the views of the Secretary of the Treasury, in submitting your estimates of receipts and expenditures for the year 1841, you did not include this item of expense for the Florida war. Mr. Chairman, (addressing the Chair,) I repeat, it was the duty of the honorable chairman of the Ways and Means, in his character as Chancellor of the Exchequer, with this knowledge in his possession, to have submitted estimates for this Florida war, when he unfolded his budget for 1841, in the speech with which he opened this debate. But he had failed to do so; and the first notice we have of it, is in a letter laid on our desks, from the Secretary of War to the chairman of Ways and

Means, dated December 17, 1840. Here, then, is an additional charge falling upon the year 1841 of \$3,385,329, not even allowed into the Secretary of the Treasury; which, added to the estimates submitted by him, amounts to the sum of \$10,110,770 69; and which, added to the appropriations of last year for the same service, amounts to \$10,739,230 38.

But, says the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Rhett,) the Florida war will probably soon be terminated. Probably soon be terminated. This is the language we have heard for years. It has long been the theme of Executive reports, and of the despatches of commanders-in-chief. Let a few miserable squaws be taken, or starving old men surrender themselves, and it is immediately heralded throughout the land that the power of the Indians has been destroyed; that they are all coming in; and that the war will soon be at an end. And the next account we hear is, that blood has been flowing in torrents, and houses have been wrapt in flames. For every brave destroyed, two seem to spring up in his place. We have, within the last day or two, heard of the capture of 60 or 70 Indians; but how often has this been the case heretofore? It is impossible to estimate the number of Indians in Florida. Years ago, it was said there were only a few hundred; and although we have been destroying them all the while, yet the work of murder and ravage has continued. As soon as the army relaxes its operations, they become emboldened, leave their inaccessible haunts, and commence anew their course of pillage and death. You may suppose there is not an Indian in Florida, you may suddenly withdraw your army, and the first thing you hear, may be, that the Indians have reappeared in all their power. Sir, the Florida war is not at an end, nor is it soon likely to be. Sam Jones and Tiger-tail yet lead their merciless bands through the everglades of that ill-fated region; today doing "the deed of death," and to-morrow concealed in the impenetrable swamps. The bloody Micaskies yet rove through the forests of Florida, leaving death and desolation in their track. To legislate with a view to the early disbandment of the army in Florida, is to leave your own countrymen exposed to the horrors of savage warfare. To do this through a false economy, is to sell the blood of citizens for money. It is to surrender a portion of your territory to the savage, and to confess, in the face of the world, that a predatory band of Seminoles has successfully resisted all the boasted power of the Government. To stop the war at this stage, is to compromise the honor of the country. You must, you are compelled to, prosecute it to a successful issue. I therefore take it for granted, that, in estimating the appropriations for the military service, you must include the \$2,385,329 proposed in the letter from the Secretary of War.

It seems that the Secretary of the Treasury, in estimating the reductions for the present year, cuts down the expenses of the Indian department \$174,000 below the appropriations of last year. I know not whether this is on account of there being funds in the hands of agents yet unpaid, on account of outstanding appropriations, or whether it is in pursuance of that system of gradual retrenchment recommended in his report; for it will be seen by reading the report of the Secretary, that he undertakes to read Congress a lecture on economy, after having exhausted the Treasury by his extravagance and mismanagement. And, in pointing out the causes of, and grounds for, future retrenchment, he says that "fewer Indians remain to be removed." But are there fewer that ought to be removed this year than were removed the last? Judging from the rapid settlement of the Western States, and the consequent pressure around the Indians remaining, I should suppose there were more. I appeal to gentlemen from the Western States—from Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri—and I ask them, if they are not anxious to have the Indian title to the lands in their states extinguished, and to have those Indians removed to the West? Are they not every day becoming more inconvenienced by the whites, and the whites to them? And yet the Secretary seems to think this system of Indian relations will soon be at an end, and the expense attending it will be lessened every year. This is a most absurd idea. The Indian relations of this country will constitute a permanent, standing charge upon this Government for one hundred years to come. And as the population of the country increases, and its frontier is extended, the more complicated and expensive will our Indian relations become. This must be the case, till the vast region from the Mississippi to the Pacific is settled by the white man, and not an Indian is left remaining. The Secretary of the Treasury further says, in pursuance of his pretended anxiety for retrenchment, that the pensions are diminished by deaths. Not so very much, sir. Some of the old revolutionaries pensioned die off, to be sure, and I am sorry for it. I wish they could live forever. They serve as a connecting link between the past and the present. They would serve to remind us of our departure from the pure and virtuous principles of the Revolution. And these old men hold on to life well. The same physical vigor which enabled them to perform such deeds of daring in the Revolution, yet preserves them health and strength. The gentleman from Maine, (Mr. Evans,) demonstrated that, if they had died off last year at the rate of ten per cent., it would not reduce the pension appropriation more than \$200,000; whereas, the truth is they did not die in near so large a proportion. But, sir, it must

be recollected that, whilst the pension list is annually increased by death, it is still annually increasing from additions to the list. Look at the annual reports of the Commissioner of Pensions, and you will see that this is the case. Look at the quantity of bills on your table for placing additional names on the pension roll—many and most of which will probably pass, as soon as time can be obtained to pass upon them. Owing to these facts, I have no doubt but that, for the next five years, the additions, with the arrears-pay in such cases, will be equal to the diminution from deaths.

Assuming, then, that the military service will cost as much this year as it did last, which was \$8,343,930 83, and adding the \$2,385,329 stated to be necessary by the Secretary of War for the Florida service, and you have an aggregate of \$10,739,230, for the military service, which will be found indispensably necessary.

Next come the estimates for the navy, which the Secretary puts down at \$5,445,399 21. Although I believe this to be much too small, yet, for the present, I will assume it to be a sufficient sum. There is one item, however, of \$150,000 for the pay of navy pensioners, which must be added, for which a bill has already passed this House, and for which the Secretary has sent in no estimate, but which will be a charge on the year 1841. But, says the gentleman from South Carolina, we do not know that the Senate will pass the bill. Perhaps it may not; for, until that body is purged, which it is soon likely to be, I believe it capable of any injustice. But that is not the question. The question is, is it right to pass it? Shall we legislate here under a supposition that one of the branches of the Legislature will not do its duty? You might as well strike out of your estimate any other appropriation for the public service, (the army for example) because we are not certain the Senate will pass it. You are in duty bound to pay the navy pensioners. You have squandered a fund which was properly theirs, and you are bound, by every consideration of honor, to pay them what is strictly theirs, and by every principle of gratitude, to reward them for their services. This \$150,000, added to the Secretary's estimates, will make the naval service for the year amount to \$5,595,399.

According to the data I have assumed, and I have placed them at the lowest probable amount, the items of expenditure for the present year will appear as follows, viz.

Civil, miscellaneous, and foreign intercourse.	\$4,500,000
Military service, including Florida war.	10,739,230
Navy pensions.	150,000
Naval service.	5,595,399
Appropriations made for the service of the year 1841, by former acts of Congress.	1,013,200
Balances of appropriations made in 1840 and previously, standing over on the 1st January 1841, and which will be a charge on the treasury in 1841, after deducting so much as may remain not called for, and standing over at the close of 1841.	2,000,000
Relief of the corporate cities in the district of Columbia, per act of 26th May, 1836, \$139,200, and public debt payable at the treasury, per act of 3d March, 1817, \$10,000.	149,200
Required to finish public buildings, according to the estimates of the architect.	400,000
Treasury notes and interest, allowing for \$500,000 which may not come in during the year.	4,350,000

Amounting in the whole to 28,857,029 which is the amount necessarily chargeable upon the year 1841.

Here then, with a probable income of \$21,725,073, we must meet an almost inevitable expenditure of \$28,887,029. Sir, how can you do it, without borrowing money? You will be compelled to borrow; and, whether you do it by Treasury notes, or loan, how are you to repay it, unless you raise the duties on imports, or resort to direct taxation? And how are you to sustain the heavy expenditures of coming years, unless you regulate your tariff to meet the demands upon the Treasury? But, exclaims the gentleman from Mississippi, (Mr. Thompson,) the cry of the Whigs has been reform, and by reform he understands a retrenchment in the expenditures. I can also inform the gentleman that it means honesty in the expenditures. It is not so much the amount expended of which we have complained, as the manner in which it has been expended: paying \$450 a day for steamboats, \$20 a cord for wood, purchasing splendid furniture and silver spoons for mud boats, paying high salaries to crowds of loungers attached to your custom-houses, giving high and expensive jobs and contracts to political favorites, &c. It is such corruption as this, of which we have so much complained and which we have promised to reform. If the money which has been collected had been spent for the interest of the country, in disciplining our army, increasing our navy, completing our fortifications, erecting harbors, and exempting luxuries from any duty, and why, then, sir, we could not have complained. But, what is remarkable, whilst this vast expenditure of money has been going on for the last four years, ranging from thirty to forty millions annually, all the interests and defences of the country have been languishing and going to ruin.

Well now, sir, in legislating to meet the wants of the Government, I feel bound to look to the future as

well as to the present. By profligacy, mismanagement, and corruption, all the great defences of the country have gone to wreck. The present rate of duties will not yield a sufficient income to put the country in a state of defence, and to repair the evils of the last twelve years of misrule. In addition to the deficit of about seven millions of dollars for the present year, there is about \$5,580,000, consisting of sums and annuities payable to Indians, and amounts pledged to be invested in safe, permanent stocks for their benefit, the interest on which we are now paying. Then, there is the navy pension fund which has been squandered or invested in worthless stocks, amounting to \$1,200,000, which you are bound to make good. Due on trust funds, other than Indian, \$500,000. Old funded and certificate debt \$100,000. Debts of the cities in the District of Columbia, assumed by the Government, with interest, \$1,750,000. To these are to be added claims on account of Indian affairs, growing out of the Florida war, allowed or to be allowed by the departments, or pending before Congress say \$5,000,000; although I learn from gentlemen better acquainted with the subject than I am, they will reach nearer \$10,000,000. Other claims now before Congress and, which have been accumulating for the last two years, for want of time to act on them, allowing for those that may be rejected, say \$2,000,000; and I also learn that these latter will probably be double that sum. These amounts in the whole to \$16,280,000, of permanent debt falling upon the next administration; and which added to the deficit of seven millions in the revenue of the present year, shows an almost certain liability of more than \$23,000,000 by the Government, over and above the current expenditures. And this, too, with a revenue continually decreasing by the gradual operation of the compromise act.

Now, sir, I am for abiding by the spirit of the compromise act. The circumstances under which it was passed, require that no violence should be done to the feelings of either of the great interests that were the parties to it. That act was the voluntary offering of patriotism, to save the effusion of human blood. It snatched the uplifted sword from the hand of the tyrant, who with tiger ferocity was ravaging and thirsting for the blood of freemen. It stands as an enduring monument of the patriotism, the wisdom, and the magnanimity of Kentucky's distinguished son. And I am free to admit, that if the public sentiment of either of the two great interests that were parties to that compromise, should, with any thing like unanimity, insist upon its remaining inviolate and untouched, it would be unwise to disturb it. It is, however, for the majority here in their wisdom, to examine and decide what may be the wishes of the country, and the feelings of the two great sections, in regard to the modification of this measure. But, in submitting this measure to the test of public feeling in the two great interests that were parties to it, reference must be had to the calm and unbiased wishes of the popular mind, and not to the wild ravings of party madness. No one man here has a right to speak for the whole North or the whole South; neither has the delegation of any one state a right to speak for its entire section. It is for the majority here, in their discretion, and upon their responsibility, to judge of the public will, upon a dispassionate survey of the whole question. If two parties enter into a covenant, for the observance of which their honor and faith may be pledged, neither has the right to violate its provisions, whilst the other insists upon their enforcement. But certainly they are not estopped from modifying it by mutual agreement. And so with the compromise act of '32. If the North or the South, with any thing like unanimity, insists upon its inviolability, I, for one, should be opposed to touching it. But if, by mutual agreement, they are willing to modify it now, where can be the objection?

This brings me to the immediate consideration of the proposition of the gentleman from New York, (Mr. Barnard,) to impose a duty on silks and wines, which are now admitted free of duty. I think this proposition presents a medium, on which the moderate on both sides of the question may meet with safety. I am aware that the ultra tariff men may oppose it, because they may hope that, in remodelling the system after the expiration of the limit fixed to the compromise act, they will be enabled to exempt luxuries from any duty, and collect the whole of the duties from articles of necessity, and thereby protect the same articles of domestic manufacture. They may suppose that by our imposing duties on luxuries now, they will find it more difficult to exempt them hereafter. I can assure gentlemen entertaining these opinions, that the south, so far as I am acquainted with its feelings, will never quietly submit to this discrimination. We

are for equal benefits, and for equal burdens. We never will consent that articles of luxury, which are consumed by the rich, shall be imported free of duty, and articles of necessity, consumed by the poor, shall be burdened with all the means of taxation, merely for the benefit of the manufacturer. That has been the source of all our struggles and difficulties heretofore. It came well nigh once plunging this country in all the horrors of civil commotion. By all the exciting associations connected with that gloomy period, I entreat gentlemen who yet cherish the favorite ideas of discrimination and protection, to abandon it forever. You cannot enforce it without endangering the stability of the Union.

Then there are ultra men on the other side, who oppose this measure simply because it is an imposition of duty, without reference to the objects on which it is intended to operate, or without looking at the real cause of that long and uniform opposition which was waged by the south against the tariffs of '24 and '28. The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Thompson) seems perfectly horrified at this new tariff, as he calls it, and asks if this same measure of a duty on imports has not long been the great cause of complaint and difficulty between the south and the north. I can answer his question, and I tell him no. The south never complained of the revenue for the support of the Government being collected from a duty on foreign articles.

[Mr. Thompson begged leave to explain. He said he did not mean to intimate that the south was opposed to raising a revenue from customs. What he said was, that a tax on foreign importations had been the great cause of complaint on the part of the south.]

Mr. R. A tax on the foreign importations! Exactly, sir. That is the same thing. I still take issue with the gentleman. I deny that the south has ever complained that the revenue for the support of the Government, was raised by a tax on foreign importations.

The south well knows, and always has known, that it is the only practicable mode of supporting the Government among a people as sensitive as ours are on the subject of direct taxation. It is the principle of discrimination for the protection of the manufacturers in a certain section, of which the south has always complained. A protection which, while it increases the cost of consumption to all sections alike, yet diffuses its advantages in the vicinity of the manufactures of the north, without bringing any corrective blessing to us of the south. The south is not only willing to contribute its revenue and its wealth, but its blood, if need be, in support of the Government and the Union. The object contemplated by the proposition of my friend from New York, is the very thing we have always contended for. The North has heretofore refused to grant it to us—they would not concede it in the compromise act—but now, if I understand them aright, they are willing to yield it, and even we hesitate to accept it! My eloquent friend from S. Carolina, (Mr. Thompson) who addressed us so ably the other day, has put this matter in its proper light. He has proven, from the record, that an equalization of duties, upon the protected and unprotected articles, was the great object contended for by the distinguished southern statesmen who mingled in the political conflicts of '22 and '33. Sir, we are now estopped, virtually estopped from objecting to this proposition. I thank my friend from South Carolina for the gallant manner in which he has met this question at the very threshold. It came with a peculiar fitness from him. He comes from a region of political darkness, though still from an oasis in a desert waste. His position is one of high moral sublimity. Despite all the efforts of persecution at home, he has stood up for years, almost single handed and alone, as the intrepid advocate of liberty and truth. With a heroic courage he has refused to quail before power and proscription, and whether at home or on this floor, he has, with a giant's arm, shaken off his assailants, as "the lion would shake the dew drops from his mane."

He says he is aware that the demagogue cry of Tariff! Tariff! will be raised for the purpose of exciting popular prejudice against him at home. That is probable. I am aware that, humble as I am, I shall be subjected to the same charge. But my friend (Gen. Thompson) need give himself no uneasiness on that account. Calumny and misrepresentation are the common lot of all who pursue the path of duty, regardless of consequences. Denunciation by the wicked, is the price which honesty and patriotism always have to pay for the esteem and approbation of the virtuous and the good. I repeat it, my friend from South Carolina deserves the thanks of the country for the fearless manner in which he has met this question. It will endure in the records of the country, as a lasting memorial of his patriotism, and will constitute the richest legacy he can leave to his children who are to succeed him. The tribute of his country's praise is also due to my friend from Georgia, (Mr. Nisbet) for his able and eloquent speech on this subject. I was equally pleased with the cogency of his argument, and the pathos of his eloquence. With such advocates, the south has nothing to fear; and in such hands the interest of the country will be safe.

(To be concluded in our next.)

From the Raleigh Star.
MR. CLAY AND MR. KING.
We are highly gratified to learn from the Baltimore American, that the unfortunate difficulty between Messrs. Clay of Kentucky, and King of Alabama, has been satisfactorily adjusted. A letter from Washington, published in that paper, dated the 11th instant, says:

"I am happy to state that all apprehensions arising from the unexpected difficulty between Mr. Clay and Mr. King have been put to rest by the entire and satisfactory settlement of the affair. Mr. Clay will leave Washington to-day or to-morrow, and will pass through your city."

Various versions of the affair are afloat; but we believe there is no doubt but Mr. King wrote a challenge to the Senate while that body was in session, and sent it to Mr. Clay, which he accepted. The object of the notes which passed between them was immediately expected, and both parties were bound away. The cause is explained by the following extract from a letter published in the Baltimore Patriot:

An attack on Mr. Clay of Kentucky was made by Mr. Smith of Connecticut, and Mr. King of Alabama, followed, and made a studied attempt to be as offensive as possible. He was, however, though exceedingly unparliamentary, not very severe—for the whole pith of his assault consisted in the attempt to bring down Henry Clay to a level with Francis P. Blair.

When Mr. King snatched his harangue, Mr. Clay rose, and said he saw he was the object of attack—concerned attack; and, as on former occasions of a similar kind, he stood firm, and collected, ready to repel assault from whatever quarter it might come. He had spoken of the Globe and its principal editor as infamous. Certain gentlemen seemed to think, by an irregular inference, that they must be regarded as participating in that infamy. If any Senator had thought proper to ask whether he meant any such thing, he would have promptly disclaimed it. No one had done so—but the man in the corner, (continued Mr. Clay, pointing to Mr. Smith, of Connecticut,) whom I do not think worthy of my notice, has chosen to make the inference. I make no answer to him. A gentleman, however, who considers himself responsible, (Mr. King bowed,) has gone one step further, and undertaken to classify me with this partisan editor of the Globe.

This (added Mr. Clay) was an unparliamentary proceeding. He had a right to comment on the journal and the character of the man when under consideration. He had spoken of the libels and calumnies daily published in that paper. He never saw any article relating to him that was not full of untruths and misrepresentations. He had reminded the Senator from South Carolina of its attacks on him as "John Calhoun Calhoun," as "a man who never spoke the truth when an untruth would serve his turn." He had said, he considered the Globe a libel, and the Editor a scoundrel. And now, under these circumstances, (said Mr. Clay, with peculiar distinctness and emphasis) for the Senator of Alabama to put me on a level with him is false, untrue and cowardly.

Mr. King made no reply; but was seen to write for a few minutes, and soon after to leave the Chamber with Dr. Linn. It was immediately rumored about among the large assemblage that he intended to send a hostile message to Mr. Clay; and the excitement became intense.

Mr. Smith of Connecticut, made a poor, abusive speech of a few minutes, which no body seemed to notice.

Mr. Preston then rose and made a powerful argument in favor of the resolution for dismissal. The remarks of Mr. Huntington and Mr. Henderson, in the early part of the day, on the same side, were also peculiarly forcible and conclusive. At three o'clock the Senate adjourned without taking any question.

GEN. HARRISON—ABOLITION.

Attempts were made throughout the whole of the late Presidential canvass, to create a belief that Gen. Harrison was identified with the northern abolitionists, and that the rights of the South were unsafe in his hands. Fabricated letters, and even perjury, were resorted to to deceive the people on this point. Fortunately, however, these base attempts produced but little effect; and his traducers were overwhelmed with defeat. The declarations of General Harrison in his Vincennes speech, and on various other occasions, before the election, showed full well to all whose minds were open to conviction, that he was radically opposed to the designs of the Abolitionists. The subject is again very delicately and happily referred to in his late inaugural address, and in a manner calculated to remove any remains of doubt which may linger in the mind of even the most fastidious friend of the south. His remarks are worth repeating, and we place them here that our readers may become familiar with his views upon a subject so vitally interesting to them. They are as follows:

"The lines separating powers to be exercised by the citizens of one state from those of another, seem to be so distinctly drawn as to leave no room for misunderstanding. The citizens of each state unite in their persons all the privileges which that character confers, and all that they may claim as citizens of the United States; but in no case can the same person, at the same time, act as the citizen of two separate states, and he is therefore positively precluded from any inter-

